

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 011455Z FEB 75  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6801  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 1453

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS\$: PFOR UR TU CY  
SUBJ: TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON GROMYKO

REF: NICOSIA 395

1. SUMMARY: DURING CALL ON GROMYKO JANUARY 29, TURKISH AMBASSADOR COMPLAINED ABOUT SOVIET DEMARCHE TO DENKTASH AND CYPRIOT FOREIGN MINISTER, WHICH OPPOSED STEPS TOWARD BIZONAL FEDERATION POINTING OUT THAT DEMARCHE WAS INCONSISTENT WITH STATED SOVIET POSITION THAT CYPRIOTS HAVE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND AMOUNTED TO SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CYPRUS. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, GROMYKO RE-ITERATED STRONG SOVIET OPPOSITION TO BIZONAL FEDERATION, PORTRAYING IT AS ARRANGEMENT WHICH COULD LEAD TO PARTITION IN FUTURE. TO CHARGE OF SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN CYPRIOT INTERNAL AFFAIRS, GROMYKO REPLIED THAT SOVIETS ONLY FOLLOWING US LEAD, SINCE THEY ARE CERTAIN US IS ATTEMPTING TO PROMOTE SETTLEMENT FAVORABLE TO U.S. INTERESTS. AMBASSADOR REJECTED THIS ASSERTION, AND OBSERVED THAT, TO BEST HIS KNOWLEDGE, U.S. HAS SCRUPULOUSLY REFRAINED FROM COMMENTING ON PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. END SUMMARY.

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2. TURKISH AMBASSADOR TURKMEN HAS GIVEN US READOUT ON HIS TALK WITH GROMYKO JANUARY 29 (ANNOUNCED IN PRAVDA JANUARY 30) AND ON HIS IMPRESSIONS OF CURRENT SOVIET VIEWS ABOUT CYPRUS. HE ASKED THAT HIS REMARKS BE CLOSELY HELD AND THAT THEY NOT BE CONVEYED TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS.

3. TURKMEN SAID THAT HE HAD REQUESTED CALL ON GROMYKO TO FURNISH LATTER WITH DIRECT RESPONSE TO RECENT SOVIET DEMARCHE IN NICOSIA AND ANKARA. BASIC THRUST OF THIS PRESENTATION (AN ELEMENT WHICH HE CONSIDERS MOST SENSITIVE) WAS THAT, IN INTERCEDING WITH CYPRIOTS IN OPPOSITION TO BIZONAL FEDERATION--AND AT LEAST BY IMPLICATION TO MOVEMENT OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS INTO ENCLAVE--SOVIETS GUILTY OF IMPROPER INTERFERENCE IN CYPRIOT INTERNAL AFFAIRS. GROMYKO, OF COURSE, DID NOT AGREE WITH THIS REASONING, AND ATTEMPTED TO JUSTIFY SOVIET ACTION BY ALLEGING THAT THE SOVIETS WERE ONLY DOING WHAT THE U.S. HAS BEEN DOING ACTIVELY FOR SOME TIME; THAT IS, MAKING ITS VIEWS KNOWN TO THE PARTIES ON CYPRUS. ACCORDING TO TURKMEN, GROMYKO VIGOROUSLY PRESSED HIS ASSERTIONS THAT THE U.S. IS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN PROMOTING ITS OWN INTERESTS IN THE AREA, TROTTED OUT STANDARD SOVIET CHARGE OF NATO INTRIGUES, AND IN PARTICULAR DISPLAYED INTENSE SUSPICION OF SECRETARY'S ROLE. TURKMEN REPORTED THAT HE REJECTED ACCUSATIONS OF U.S. AND NATO INTERFERENCE, STATING THAT NATO NOT INVOLVED AT ALL AND TO BEST HIS KNOWLEDGE, U.S. ROLE HAD BEEN ENTIRELY PROPER AND HAS NOT INCLUDED ATTEMPT TO PROMOTE OR BLOCK ANY PARTICULAR CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH MIGHT BE AGREED UPON IN CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS.

4. DURING DISCUSSION, GROMYKO STUCK FIRMLY TO STANDARD SOVIET POSITIONS, INCLUDING REITERATION OF SOVIET SUPPORT FOR CYPRIOT SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES, BUT SHOWED EXTREME SENSITIVITY REGARDING ANY MOVES TOWARD BIZONAL FEDERATION, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS "THIN VEIL" LEADING TO PARTITION. TURKMEN ARGUED THAT PARTITION IS NOT A POSSIBLE OUTCOME, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF OBVIOUS SOVIET OPPOSITION, AND THAT BIZONAL CONCEPT SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS STEP IN THIS DIRECTION, BUT RATHER AS ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD PREVENT FUTURE COMMUNAL VIOLENCE WHICH AFTER ALL IS ROOT OF CURRENT

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PROBLEMS.

5. TURKMEN OBSERVED THAT, DESPITE BASIC DISAGREEMENTS, MEETING TOOK PLACE IN CALM, REASONED ATMOSPHERE, WITHOUT DISPLAY OF EMOTION. GROMYKO CAREFULLY AVOIDED DIRECT CRITICISM OF TURKEY AND EVEN ANY REFERENCE TO TURKISH PRESENCE ON CYPRUS.

6. SUMMING UP HIS OVERALL JUDGMENT OF SOVIET ATTITUDE, TURKMEN OBSERVED THAT THE SOVIETS SEEM MORE CONCERNED NOW THAN BEFORE ABOUT A PARTITION. MOSCOW, HE SAID, CONTINUED TO HAVE NO EVIDENT PROBLEM WITH THE IDEA OF A FEDERATION PER SE, BUT CLEARLY WANTED SIZABLE MINORITIES IN EACH COMMUNITY (I.E. A SUBSTANTIAL GREEK COMMUNITY IN TURKISH AREAS AND AN EQUIVALENT TURKISH PRESENCE IN GREEK REGIONS). THIS, TURKMEN, SAID, WAS SEEN BY THE SOVIETS AS AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD MINIMIZE ANY CHANCE THAT A PARTITION OF THE REPUBLIC COULD OCCUR WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL DIFFICULTY AND, IN ALL PROBABILITY, A FURTHER CYPRUS CRISIS IN THE TRADITIONAL MOLD. TURKMEN THOUGHT THE SOVIETS VIEWED SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT AS AFFORDING INSURANCE THAT THERE WOULD BE INTERNATIONAL, INCLUDING SOVIET, INVOLVEMENT IN ANY FUTURE EFFORTS TO ALTER THE STATUS OF THE ISLAND.

7. COMMENT: SOVIET MEDIA HAS PROVIDED PUBLIC EVIDENCE OF SOVIET CONCERN ABOUT A BIZONAL ARRANGEMENT BY CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATING A CAMPAIGN OF CRITICISM OF THE RECENT UK DECISION TO RELEASE TURKISH REFUGEES FROM THE SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS. PRESS HAS CLAIMED UK DECISION REPRESENTS AN EFFORT TO PREJUDICE THE OUTCOME OF THE INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS AND HAS GIVEN SUBSTANTIAL COVERAGE TO GREEK-CYPRIOT STATEMENTS CONDEMNING THE BRITISH ACTION. THERE HAS, HOWEVER, BEEN NO DIRECT CRITICISM OF THE TURKS NOR MENTION OF TURKEY'S ROLE IN BRINGING ABOUT THE BRITISH DECISION. IN MORE POINTED ACCUSATION, ZNANIE SOCIETY LECTURER JAN 29 CLAIMED THAT THE BRITISH ACTION REPRESENTED AN EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A DE FACTO PARTITION OF CYPRUS AND TO RESOLVE THE CYPRUS CRISIS, BEHIND THE BACKS OF THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE.

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## Message Attributes

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